837 to do so, but, as I said -- white crows! Actually, it would be asking rather a lot to expect this as the order of the day, in view of the prevailing polygyny. All jealousy and all supervision are of no avail; the women simply acquire behind the man's back what he cannot or will not grant them.

[622] Generally, the chief keeps only a small number of his wives,
[595] perhaps from three to five, for himself. The others he divides among his /263/ adherents and friends or hires them out to acquaintances for one or more nights in exchange for cash payment. In addition, as is apparent from the reckonings at the feast for the souls, the women keep a whole series of admirers who -- if there is no other way -- satisfy them during the day in the fields, in spite of Ngi and all the cult spirits. Even lepers and cripples are not spurned if they are capable sexually. If the
[589] husband learns the name of a wife's lover, the latter must pay him about 300 spears. The price fluctuates somewhat, and in case the parties do not come to an agreement, it is determined by legal proceedings. If the husband catches a rival in <u>flagrante delicto</u>, he sometimes has no scruples about shooting him down on the spot.

587 If a woman dies soon after marriage, the widower obtains the sister of the deceased as a wife, either for nothing or for a small additional payment, because it is believed that the woman carried an <u>ewu</u> inside her, in other words, that she was a sorceress and was therefore responsible for her own death, thus wronging her husband.

If for some reason or other a man does not like his wife, he
586 can give her back without great difficulty, since, after all, she retains her value and finally always "gets her man." In the case of young people, who frequently marry the first person that happens to be available and only later realize what they have actually acquired, wives may be taken back purely if they have a poor appearance, diseased teeth, an evil smell, and so forth, in other words, if they are generally "unpleasant."

Otherwise, the chief grounds for divorce are: 1) spitefulness and disobedience towards the spouse; 2) malicious, extended desertion of the husband (but not simple running away) and

587 769 When a man dies and one of his relatives marries his wives, there is no additional payment of dowry. When a man loses his wife, the dowry is repaid fully, or in part, by the relatives of the deceased wife if she has left no children. If there are children, the widower makes no claim to the dowry.

765 The widow cuts her hair. After the death of the husband, the wife is made to confess the names of her lovers in order to make them give payments which will finance the celebrations at the end of mourning. She must weep for one whole day and one whole night; she may do nothing without the permission of her husband's heir; and for a month she stays dirty, dressed in an old loincloth. At the end of this time there are celebrations of the end of mourning which last several days. The widow sits for a whole night in the village square, and the husband's relatives throw her water and pimento. The following morning she jumps four times over a fire of dry banana leaves. While she is jumping, men hit her for the anguish which she has caused her husband to endure. After that she receives a new loincloth from her family and then, before beginning the dances, if she has not accepted remarriage 587 to her husband's heir, she chooses a new husband from among the assembled men of the dead man's family.

838 839 Neither homosexuality nor bestiality have ever been recorded, to our knowledge, among the Fan.

548 Prostitution does not exist.

833 Impotence (eyel), if it is congenital, is attributed to the mother's having accidentally caused milk to flow onto the penis of her son while nursing him. If it occurs later, it is said to be from the abuse of coitus and it is believed that there is no more sperm in the impotent person.

596 Family Group. The family (nda ebur) consists of the man, his wives, his children, and his brothers. It usually includes several homes and constitutes a village in itself. The authority belongs to the father, and it is he who commands because of his being the most respected. He has absolute power, but also incurs certain duties, the most important of which is to find money or goods as dowry for the women whom his sons wish to marry. These dowries are usually obtained through payments made by the girls' husbands. The most complete mutual aid is obligatory among all members of the family, in all 596 circumstances. When the parents have become too old to continue 888 exercising their authority, they live with the family of their oldest son

583 example, by the premature death of the fiancée. Almost all customary courts now refuse /to uphold/ repayment when a woman has died without issue, as was the old custom.

The other forms of marriage were abom, marriage by abduction, which was regularized by later payment of the "bride price" (meso [426] ngon = arrival of the girl); putting in pawn for debt, which was made permanent /53/ by nonrepayment; éjian, substitution for a fiancée deceased before marriage or for a wife who died without issue (in such cases a younger sister of the dead woman was often provided); [682] taff abim, corpse price, that is, the giving in payment of a young woman as blood money after a homicide; exchange of women between clans, usually on the occasion of an alliance /i.e. through marriage/, élat (1).

1. Elat = alliance, agreement; bilelat = kindred, the whole body of relatives and affinal kin.

837 Exchange or loan of women, mvia, was perhaps a form of hospitable prostitution. It apparently did not apply to the benya binga, the "true wives," in any case never to the ôsua minga, the first wife, [514] who would have considered it a reason for divorce without repayment of bride price. In the same way, nkuan, sale, was not the equivalent [492] of marriage and must have applied mainly to foreigners, though perhaps sometimes to Pahouin girls pawned and not redeemed.

• 587 428 The inheritance of widows did not automatically have the same value as marriage. It was usually permitted only between succeeding generations—from father to son, from elder to younger brother; inheriting by an older from a younger brother appears in recent law. Furthermore, the heir possessed the right of renunciation, except with respect to his mother, whom he had to support but whom he would naturally not make his wife. He could send other widows back to their families, keeping their children, who belonged to his clan. 587 To require repayment of the bride price for a widow's "liberation" 913 seems to be a recent deviation; in the past this custom must have applied only to barren women or to those whose children had not lived, but only when they returned to live with their families without remarrying. The moment a widow remarried outside the family of her deceased husband, the "bride price" went to the latter's heirs, and

the law has not changed on this point. "No bride price, no marriage" —Sa nsuba, ve alu' e se kik. We shall find this principle again in connection with legitimate descent.

Thus it is the absence of payment of the nsuba that gives their character to free union, ébon, and to adultery, mejian, and makes them really infringements upon the law of property, justifying the fact that customary courts logically refuse to impose a penalty in a case of ébon when the girl returns to her family pregnant (2).

2. This is hard for some magistrates to understand.

A husband must provide his wife with lodging and clothes and must clothe any children he has by her. He must clear the field she will cultivate, provide her with household utensils and, in theory, with meat. He must allow her to visit her parents, to whom he owes respect. He must not use sorcery (3) against her and must respect the

3. Likened to sorcery are fellatio and sodomy, the grounds for numerous divorces from former members of native infantry regiments.

prerogatives of rank that she holds among her co-wives; he is supposed to sleep with her when she is not menstruating nor pregnant nor nursing. He must not beat her beyond what she can stand nor expose her vulva in public. /54/

A woman owes obedience to her husband, to her mother-in-law, and to the first wife, respect to her affinal relatives, therefore to her husband's clan; she must be faithful to her husband and perform her conjugal duty. She is responsible for cultivating the plots cleared for her, for fishing with weirs, for feeding her children, taking her turn at cooking for her husband, for keeping her hut clean and that of her husband when she is sleeping with him, and for helping to build them (it is she who applies the banco onto the frame). She does not have to take care of imported household equipment and clothes because these are bibm of a masculine nature (but the schools and missions are trying to train women to do so). Finally, and above all, she must be prolific: this is her first duty and a great deal will be forgiven her if she performs it.